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COVER ILLUSTRATION

A rather romanticised but generally accurate representation of the Keep of Helmsley Castle as it was at the end of the 18th Century.

Editorial

This is an economy number of the Ryedale Historian, and the editorial must follow suit. However, there are some important things to be mentioned, albeit briefly.

First, a salute to Mr. and Mrs. G. W. Allenby, who as Treasurer and Secretary have been very largely responsible for this Society's success over the past fourteen years; indeed, but for their management and flair for fund-raising our publication could not have continued. For information, the Editor (address below) has taken over as Secretary, and Mr. Alan McDonald (3, Woodard House, High Street, Helmsley) as Treasurer.

1976 also marks the Helmsley Society's independence of our parent, the Yorkshire Archaeological Society. We retained affiliated status until now, but the fact of the matter is that we are too remote from Leeds for there to be any tangible benefit to either party from such a link. We part company regretfully, with anything but hard feelings, and in fact we hope to be welcoming the Y.A.S. to Helmsley for a week-end meeting in September.

Another welcome, to a new contributor in the person of our President's daughter, Lucy Beckett (Mrs. Warrack), an established author and historian in her own right, who recently gave us an excellent lecture on Mount Grace Priory and now contributes a welcome and apposite study of the little-known Benedictine nunnery of Arden, near Hawaby. John Rushton needs no introduction to our readers. Nor does Raymond Hayes - though new readers should note the foreword to his updated article on querns, continued from Ryedale Historian No. 7 and including the illustrations omitted then, thanks to the gremlins of the three-day week.

For reasons of cost, the number of pages, and of illustrations, in this issue has been rigorously limited. So too has the number of copies printed (and we regret that off-prints are not available). But since each issue eventually pays off most of its own cost - with the help of a grant from the North Yorkshire Education Committee - our remarkably loyal subscribers should not despair of seeing another issue in 1978.

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Further Notes on North Yorkshire Querns

by Raymond H. Hayes

Editor's Note: The disasters which struck the production of Ryedale Historian No. 7, thanks to the three-day week, included the omission of Mr. Raymond Hayes' photographs accompanying his article and list of finds concerning querns in East Cleveland, the North York Moors and the Vale of Pickering. Even his drawings of querns had to be added as part of a loose double-page fold, inserted with all copies of No. 7. His list of finds, therefore, is incomplete without the plates and Figure 3 reproduced in this present issue, No. 8.

In the meantime, however, Dr. D. A. Spratt had drawn the attention of Professor J. E. Hemingway, former Professor of Geology in the University of Newcastle, to Mr. Hayes' article. We are therefore very pleased to be able to publish a supplementary article by Mr. Hayes, based on his collaboration with these two gentlemen, together with a note on the practical craft of grinding corn with hand-querns, by the Curator of the Ryedale Folk-Museum.

Following the publication of my list of hand-querns in Ryedale Historian No. 7 (1974), pp. 22-41, with line-drawings in loose centrefold, Professor J. E. Hemingway, at the invitation of Dr. D.A. Spratt, made two visits to the district and examined over 60 querns, in the Middlesborough Museum, the Ryedale Folk Museum, and private collections mainly in Cleveland.

We also took him to the Spaunton Moor site (SE 735-9, 930-4, Plate 2) where rough-outs for querns and millstones occur.¹ He at once identified the stone as an outcrop of Crinoid Grit - the highest layer of the Scarborough beds of Middle Jurassic Sandstone ('Grey Limestone' on the O.S. Geological Survey map). It outcrops on the North York Moors, below the Moor Grit, from the Eston Hills in the north, as far south as Spaunton Moor, and can be identified by its Avicular and Pentacrinoid fossils. It is a medium-grained white sandstone in the southern part of the moors, becoming progressively coarser in its northerly outcrops.

In the collections studied by Professor Hemingway, ten querns certainly, and another three possibly, are of Crinoid Grit. Four bee-hive (BH) type querns in the Ryedale Folk Museum, from the Spaunton-Lastingham district, are definitely of this stone, and a further two probably are. Also, the millstone, 44" by 3½" thick, re-used as a paving stone in the 14th century dwelling at Otterburn Garth, Lastingham² was of the same stone; so were the three



Plate I:

1a: bee-hive quern (Helmsley).

1b: flat rotary upper stone, (Norton)



1c: flat rotary upper (Hutton-le-hole)

flat rotary upper (Spaunton)

flat rotary base (Spautnon)

(foreground) bee-hive (Cleveland) on base from Great Edstone

unfinished querns found at the Elizabethan glass furnace, in the valley below the fabricating site on Spaunton Moor near Grindstone Wath, on the old track-way to Lastingham, which was so called in the 15th century ('Grynstoynwath', in 1492).

The other concentration of Crinoid Grit querns occurs in the Kildale area, not far from outcrops of the rock on Commondale and Kempswithen Moors. But though there is evidence of quarrying on these beds, no rough-outs were found.

The medium-grained Crinoid Grit evidently proved a good choice. The more coarse-grained stone would tend to disintegrate in use, with consequent grit in the flour; while the fine-grained sandstones (Moor Grit) tend to become highly polished with use in grinding, and were probably discarded for this reason.

Five of the querns examined by Professor Hemingway were of Millstone Grit; two of these came from the Roman villa at Beadlam, and more may be found there. Querns of this stone occur near the Roman roads near Bardsey and Thorner (only about 35 miles from Helmsley) where Millstone Grit also outcrops.

The saddle querns from Spaunton are made of a massive dense sandstone of the Middle Jurassic - possibly Moor Grit - with no bedding planes, while three from the Iron Age huts on Roxby Low Moor (NZ763145) were of medium-grained sandstone with ironstone pebbles, porous, with impressions of fossils from the Scarborough beds.³

The BH quern from Liverton (Ryedale Hist. No. 7, p.39) was of fine-grained dense sandstone with quartz cement. Moor Grit was not much used, probably on account of its density.

The Great Edstone quern (Ryedale Hist. No. 7, p.35) was of medium-coarse, moderately porous and fairly dense sandstone; no diagnostic features.

The upper BH stone from Helmsley was medium sandstone, with small feldspar grains and massive bedding; possibly Millstone Grit. (Plate 1 (a).)

The very fine conical BH upper stone (Plate 1 (c) - centre front) from near Kirby in Cleveland (Ryedale Hist. No. 7, p.38) was of massive Millstone Grit with good feldspar; very well-used and now weathering.

The nicely grooved stone with tenon for rynd (Ryedale Hist. No. 7, p.37) is also of Millstone Grit with quartz pebbles. (From Hutton-le-Hole: Plate 1 (c), top left).

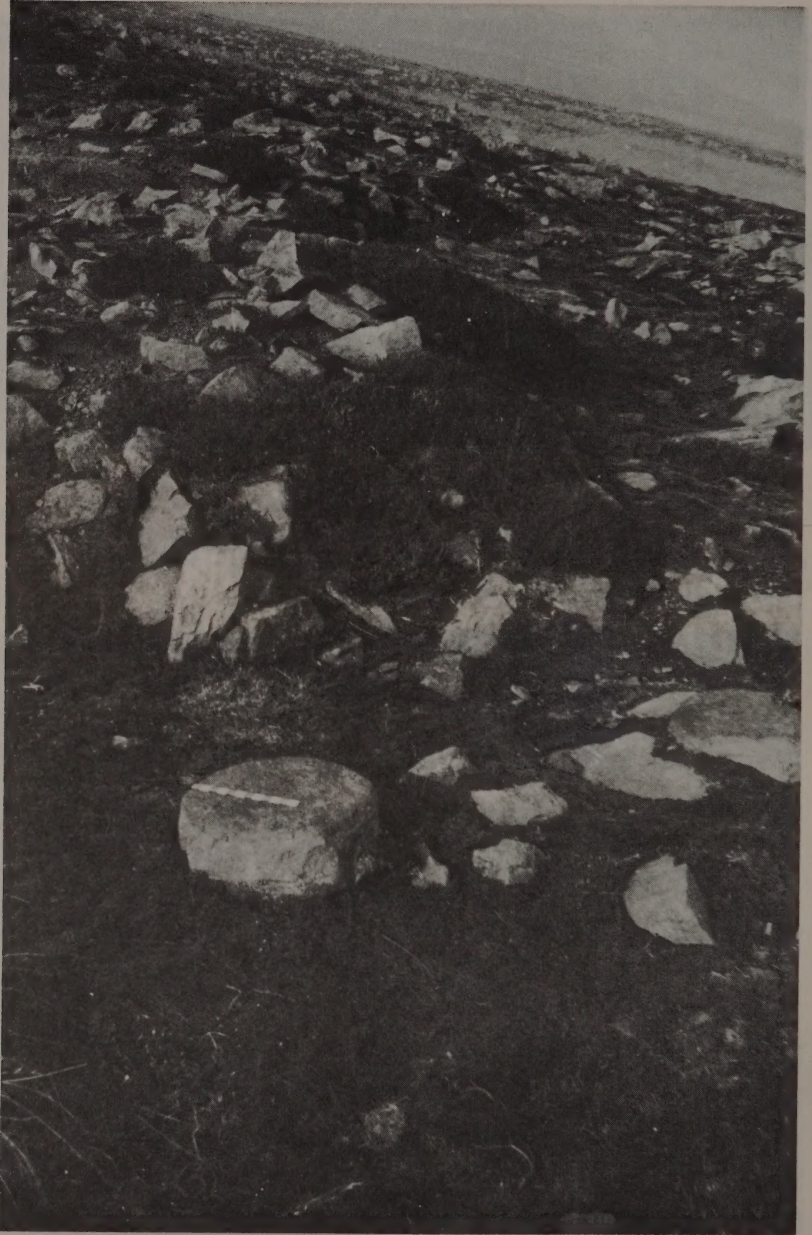


Plate II :

Quern quarry, Spaunton Moor, with roughed-out quern.

The upper and lower flat rotary stones from the Romano-British aisled house near Spaunton are both of Crinoid Grit (Plate 1 (c), top centre and left).

Another interesting quern has recently come to light at Salton (Fig. 3, No. 1). This is of Millstone Grit with a pronounced collar, a type uncommon in Ryedale, but found on Roman sites in the West Riding.

Though many of these querns are of coarse or fine-grained sandstone, there seems to have been a tendency in early times to adapt the nearest convenient stone to this use. Many are of Crinoid Grit in the Spaunton and Kildale areas, where settled agriculture persisted over many years from Iron Age and Romano-British times.⁴ The Millstone Grit querns probably came into Ryedale, the Vale of Pickering and the fringes of the Moors by trade in later Roman times.

Notes:

- (1) Ryedale Historian No. 7, pp. 29-30. See Plate 2 of this issue.
- (2) Otterburn Garth, Lastingham: Excavations 1970-72. Transactions of Scarborough Archaeological and Historical Society, Vol. III, No. 18 (1975). (R.H.H.).
- (3) Yorks. Arch. Journal, Vol. 44 (1972), pp. 23-31: No. 7, fig. 9. (R.S. Close).
- (4) Yorks. Arch. Journal, Vol. 47 (1975), p. 65. (Close, Hayes & Spratt).

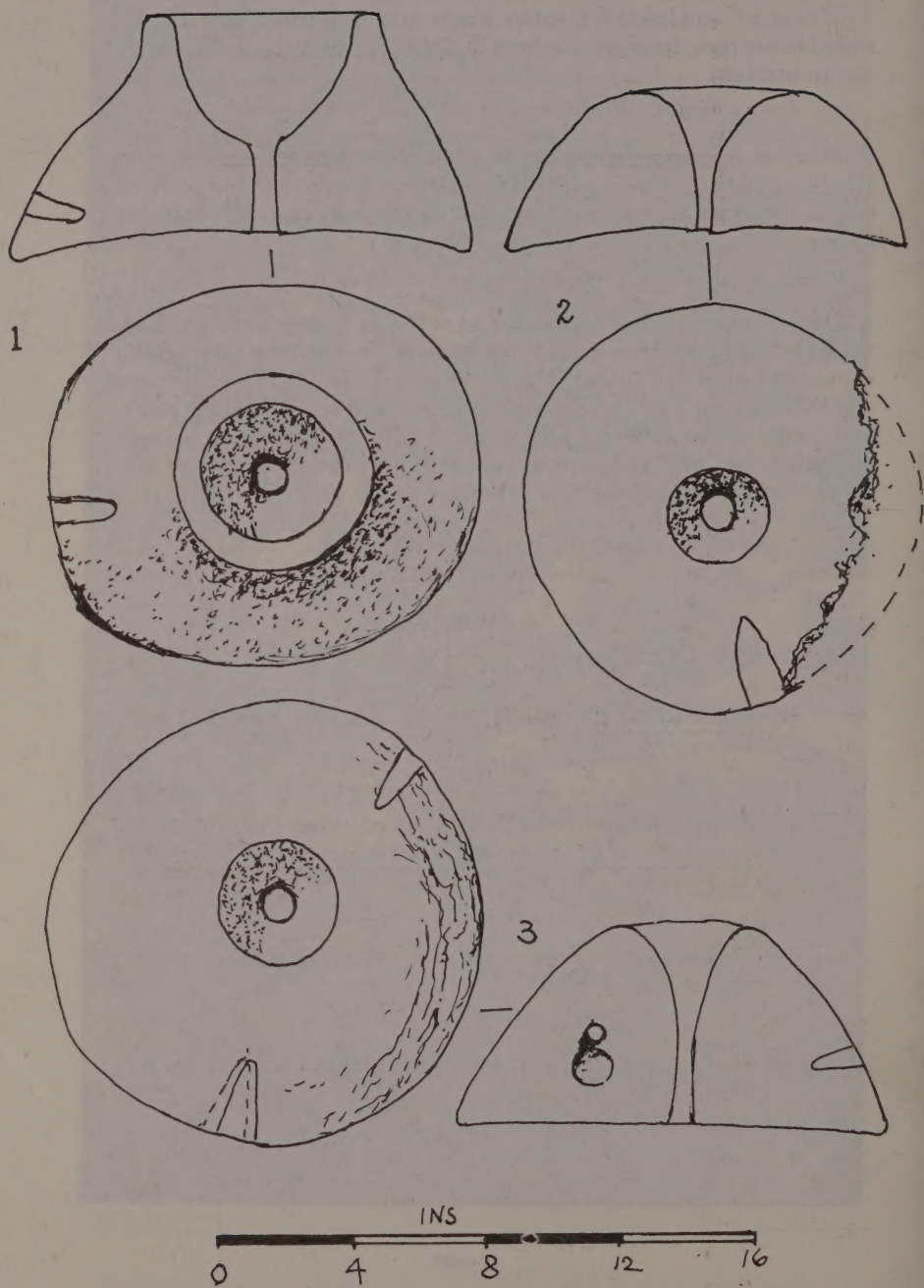


Fig. 3

Grinding Wheat with Querns

by Bert Frank

The Ryedale Folk Museum has a number of rotary querns collected from the surrounding countryside. These can be divided into two types: the bee-hive shape of early times, and the flat rotary type of later periods.

In the summer of 1974 I decided to try to grind corn with both types.

A mill was first made from two flat sandstones, based on information obtained from a book published in 1898, "The History of Corn Milling" by R. Bennet and J. Elton. Professor Mitchell describes thus the Scotch quern he presented to the Edinburgh Museum: "the stones stand upon a bench, the lower stone embedded in clay, and the hole for the spindle, no longer a mere socket but a perforation passing entirely through the stone, is tightly fitted with a block of wood, also perforated, serving for a bearing for the spindle which passes through it and below the stone, and rests on a narrow board beneath. The top stone, as usual, rests by means of its wooden rynd upon the top of the spindle. The narrow board upon which the spindle stands can be thus raised or lowered by means of twisting or untwisting a piece of string which holds the narrow board to the bench." This description was faithfully followed, using stones of 19 inches diameter and 4 inches thick, with a hopper 2 inches diameter. The grinding surfaces were picked with holes to grip the grain. This hand-mill proved to be very efficient, quickly grinding wheat into flour which, when put through a sieve, compared very favourably with modern brown flour.

The only bee-hive top-stone in our possession with a suitable grinding surface was one from Helmsley. A lower stone was made from sandstone and a socket was cut in the centre, into which was fixed a wooden peg to hold the top-stone in position as it revolved. It was not successful for the wheat became wedged in the narrow hopper, which like others in our possession, had had a diameter of only $\frac{3}{4}$ " A wooden block was then firmly wedged in the socket and a small iron spike driven in, around which the top-stone freely revolved. But though there was now more room in the hopper, the wheat still wedged. In the flat rotary quern first described the handle to revolve it is in a vertical position but in bee-hive querns the handle is always fixed horizontally. This horizontal handle adds considerably to the labour, but it gave the clue as to how the quern could be worked properly. By means of this handle the top-stone could be tilted slightly to allow a small quantity of grain to enter the grinding surfaces. Two or three revolutions of the quern would then grind this into flour, when it had to be tilted again for a further supply of wheat.

It is interesting to reflect that this quern, which was grinding corn in Helmsley two thousand years ago, is still in working order, once the knack is known.

Arden Priory

by Lucy Beckett

The spectacular scale of the monastic past in Ryedale has made the tiny Benedictine prior of Arden almost invisible to the eye of history. Yet throughout the same four centuries that saw Rievaulx and Byland rise, flourish and protractedly decline, this small nunnery existed on the three carucates of land with which it had been originally endowed¹ (with a little more near Thirsk), a sliver on the map between the great estates of the Cistercian abbeys. It was founded in 1148 or 1149,² when Aelred had recently become Abbot of Rievaulx and the nave of the abbey church had been completed, and when the great Abbot Roger of Byland had just moved his monks from Tylas to Oldstead, their penultimate home. The Cistercian order was rapidly increasing in both size and prestige, and in 1147 had absorbed the order of Savigny to which the Byland monks belonged. Nevertheless Peter de Thirsk, the founder of Arden, and the group of nuns to whom he gave a site for their priory in Thorodale, a narrow valley watered by a tributary of the upper Rye, chose Benedictine independence rather than the institutional community of the *Carta Caritatis*. It was an unfashionable choice in this part of Yorkshire: Handale (1133), Keldholme (before 1143), Rosedale (before 1150), Wykeham (1153) and Baysdale (1167) were all Cistercian nunneries, although further afield Marrick, Nun Monkton and Nunburnholme were Benedictine foundations of this period.³

Peter de Thirsk held the manor of Arden, which is not mentioned in Domesday, of the Mowbray fee.⁴ Roger de Mowbray who in this decade was endowing both Rievaulx and Byland with large tracts of land, was one of the most considerable monastic founders of the 12th century. When the foundation of Arden was confirmed by King John in 1201, Roger, rather than Peter de Thirsk, was named as founder, and his obit was still being commemorated by the nuns at the dissolution.⁵ In 1142 he had confirmed a grant of pasture on Arden moor by Peter de Thirsk to Rievaulx,⁶ which must have meant that flocks owned by the abbey were later grazing close to the nuns' boundary. But it was the monks of Byland with whom Arden soon found itself in conflict. In 1189 the prioress Muriel and the aged abbot Roger appeared before the Archdeacon of Cleveland in Hawnby church (its first mention in the records) for the settlement of a dispute between the two houses. "The monks condoned the nuns in regard to all dams, enclosures for animals, the rough words of their men and other irregularities; while (the nuns) conceded to Byland free transit and passage for the abbot and convent's carriages over the nuns' land."⁷ This does not conjure up a very edifying picture of neighbourly forbearance and mutual help. But the Archdeacon's arbitration seems to have been successful. We hear of no more quarrels between the

great house and the small; such ill-will as remained was presumably not fierce enough to demand a formal airing.

Had Peter de Thirsk installed Cistercian nuns at Arden, it is likely that virtually nothing would now be known of their history between the end of the 12th century and the dissolution of the house by Henry VIII's commissioners. The whole Cistercian order was exempt from episcopal visitation and in most cases few records of its internal maintenance of discipline remain. But Benedictine houses not specifically exempted by papal privilege were, after the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) had made the ancient canons effective, subject to the jurisdiction of the ordinary, and fairly full episcopal registers for the diocese of York do survive.⁸ In them we catch occasional glimpses of life at Arden, brightly lit moments in the long shadowy centuries.

The earliest extant injunctions from the archbishops to religious houses under their supervision contain no mention of Arden, and of course in these circumstances no news is usually good news. But early in the 14th century the nuns were in various kinds of trouble. In 1304 the prioress Juliana became paralysed and asked to be relieved of her office by the dean and chapter of York, the see being vacant. Possibly the presence of an invalid quondam prioress in such a small community made the maintenance of discipline difficult for her successor. In any case, in 1306 Archbishop Greenfield's visitation produced the removal from the convent of Robert de Dent, a conversus or lay servant under monastic obedience, and the order for the penance and return to the cloister of Joan de Punchardon, a nun who had had a child. The injunctions further required the whole rule of St. Benedict to be enforced in all its details, which suggests that routine in choir and in the management of daily life had become somewhat relaxed. Secular girls (perhaps one or two boarders taken to bring in a little money) and servants with not enough to do were to be sent away, as were "all dogs and puppies so that the straitened revenues of the house might be devoted to the poor." The feeding of dogs with scraps from the refectory table that should have been given to the poor was a monastic abuse usually associated with outlying houses of canons regular much given to hunting. The nuns were only keeping pets, but no doubt could not afford them. Archbishop Greenfield also ordered that the convent buildings were to be repaired, that timber, especially large trees, was not to be sold without licence, and that proper accounts were to be rendered twice or - a note of realistic pessimism - "at least once" a year.⁹ Although another nun was found to be misbehaving in 1311, in general the administration of the convent seems to have improved a little after Archbishop Greenfield's efforts, and the level of its spiritual life may have risen too. In 1320 Archbishop Melton, finding nothing seriously amiss at Arden, was able to recommend one of the nuns, Margaret de Punchardon, to the convent of St. Nicholas, Beverley, as a solitary.¹⁰ It is tempting to guess, from her surname

and the sparse facts we have, that she was the daughter of the nun Joan and the conversus Robert, perhaps born a few years before their official disgrace, brought up in or about the cloister by the nuns who would hardly have thrown her out into the world, and turning in the end to a more severe religious life in expiation for the misfortune of her birth and to escape the embarrassment of living in the same convent as her mother.

In 1372 one more nun was in trouble - she had run away with a layman, Robert Wetherhird - but there is no other mention of Arden before the end of the century except for the tax return of 1331 in which the prior of Newburgh and the vicar of Felixkirk reported that the nuns possessed no benefice and that their whole lay property scarcely exceeded by twenty shillings a year "what is necessary to support them in poverty."¹¹ It is obvious that, on such a narrow margin, financial mismanagement, by far the commonest monastic fault with which episcopal visitation had to deal at this period, could be disastrous. And in 1396 John de Southwell, commissary of the dean and chapter, visited Arden and discovered a really scandalous state of affairs. The prioress, Eleanor, had been elected four years before at the age of only 26, and had proceeded shamelessly to waste the meagre resources of the house. She had pawned vestments, silver and the convent's seal without consultation with her fellow-nuns; she had sold timber and concealed the sales; she had neglected the convent buildings which were in a state of dilapidation; she had failed to replace the community's sheets (they had possessed ten pairs of good linen sheets in 1392 and not one now remained) and failed to provide candles for the church; of only two albs left in the vestry of the nuns' church, one was being used to sift flour and as a bedspread for layfolk in the stable; presents given to the convent had been used and sold by the prioress without the knowledge of the other nuns; she had also been guilty of personal indiscretion at the very least. No doubt as the result of her behaviour, monastic discipline and silence were no longer observed. The visitors found the nuns haymaking in the fields and no office being sung in choir.¹² We do not know what happened to the prioress Eleanor after this report on her regime. It is not even safe to assume that she was removed from office, since in some similar cases the episcopal authorities were compelled to reprimand and keep in office such offenders for lack of anyone suitable to replace them, or because no other house would accept them as penitents and it was futile to leave in his own community a dismissed and disgruntled superior to make trouble for his or her successor.¹³ The story shows how thoroughly and how quickly the almost absolute power of a Benedictine superior could be abused, even, or perhaps especially, in such a small house, and how necessary the periodic visitation of the ordinary might be.

The York visitation records for the 15th century tell us nothing of Arden but as very few survive for this period we can draw no conclusions from their silence. We do know that the house was still

very poor in the middle of the century, for in 1444 Archbishop Kemp granted an indulgence for two years to any who might help with repairs to the priory buildings.¹⁴ In 1436 the master of the Hospital of St. Leonard, York, had entered a plea in the bishop's court against "Elizabeth, prioress of Arden, and John Lumby, husbandman, that each of them give up chattels value 40s., which they unjustly detain."¹⁵ The story behind this, and indeed the rights and wrongs of the case, we shall never know. These scraps are all that can be gleaned from the last century of the convent's existence. As is the case with so many of the small religious houses all over the country, the darkness is almost complete until the sudden and often cruel glare of light thrown by the records of Henry VIII's abolition of mediaeval English monasticism.

The Valor Ecclesiasticus commissioners of 1535 found that the total annual value of Arden priory was twelve pounds and sixpence. The value in 1291 had been ten pounds.¹⁶ Allowing for the inflation of the 14th century, one may guess that the nuns had become, if anything, slightly poorer in a period of almost two hundred and fifty years – including, of course, the irresponsible rule of the prioress Eleanor. Of the twenty nunneries in Yorkshire, none came anywhere near the £200 a year limit above which no religious houses were to be suppressed under the 1536 act for the dissolution of the lesser monasteries. Swine Abbey, the richest, was valued at £82 a year. But only six had less than £20, and Arden was one of the very poorest. At this stage the government was apparently not envisaging the total elimination of monastic life: the act provided for all religious in houses under threat of suppression to be given the choice of leaving religion and being dispensed from the vows of poverty and obedience (a 'capacity') or being transferred to another house of the same order. Clearly, if more than a handful of Yorkshire nuns chose to remain in religion it would be impossible to dissolve all their houses. In the event more nuns than monks everywhere, and more religious in Yorkshire than elsewhere did take this option, and only one nun out of 105 in the twelve convents for which we have exact information applied for a capacity. Out of the twenty Yorkshire nunneries only seven were actually suppressed in 1536. Arden was one of the seven, but unfortunately not one of the twelve for which we have details of the nuns' decisions.¹⁷

The suppression commissioners arrived at Arden on 8 May. (One is constantly astonished at the efficiency of mid-Tudor administration. The warrants appointing the officers of the new Court of Augmentations had been issued in London on 24 April. A fortnight later here were a receiver and an auditor of the Court and one or two specially commissioned local gentry arriving at the back of beyond to put into effect a law passed in the parliamentary session that had ended only on

14 April).¹⁸ They found at the priory six, or possibly seven, nuns, fourteen servants and two boys, and two corrodians (pensioners who had bought, as it were, an annuity from the convent: board and lodging for the rest of their lives in return for a lump sum). They also found one gilt chalice, one silver dish and two bells, altogether worth ten shillings, and a wooden image of St. Bridget that was locally believed to be of assistance in the recovery of lost cows and the cure of sick ones.¹⁹ Devotion to St. Bridget, the noble Swedish founder of the Bridgettine order, was not common in England; the presence of her image at Arden is perhaps explained by the fact that Abbot Geoffrey of Byland had written a tract about her in the 15th century.²⁰

The commissioners collected their information, interviewed the nuns, and departed. On 25 August, the Court of Augmentations having found no cause to exempt Arden from dissolution, they returned and formally suppressed the priory. Only from the arrangements then made can we guess at the nuns' answers to the question put to them in May. Elizabeth Johnson, over 80 years old and deaf, was given 40s., presumably to support her in the neighbourhood to the end of her life, since either a capacity or the upheaval of a move to another convent would have been out of the question. She may not have been a nun at all, but a widow living in the cloister, but if so, the sum of 40s. is unusually high. Of the six others, three received 20s., two 10s. and one 6s. 8d. These sums are called pensions in the V.C.H.,²¹ but since, except to some superiors, pensions were not awarded in 1536, the likelihood is that they were simply gratuities, once for all payments. On the evidence provided by similar nunneries for which complete lists survive,²² we may guess that the three recipients of the smaller sums had chosen to stay in religion and were given a little money to help them on their way to one of the several Yorkshire Benedictine nunneries that remained undissolved. 20s., on the other hand, was the sum usually given to a nun who opted for a capacity, but if three nuns at Arden made this choice, it was a convent of exceptionally little fidelity to the religious vocation. It would be more charitable to suppose that these three ladies were also elderly or infirm, and were therefore reckoned to need more than the usual amount of assistance for the journey to another priory. It is to be hoped that this was so because the nuns who chose capacities in 1536 were financially the hardest hit of all religious. They had disqualified themselves from the pensions awarded to everyone remaining in religion when the final suppression took place in 1538-40; they were not (until 1548; Queen Mary revoked this in 1553) dispensed from the vow of chastity; none of the possibilities of making a living in the secular church that were open to discharged monks were available to them. Most of them must have faced real hardship.

No specific mention is made of the prioress of Arden in the surviving records. We know that the last prioress, Margaret Danby, had her

election confirmed in 1502.²³ By 1536 she would have been well on in years, and was probably one of the recipients of 20s.

The servants, no doubt, were fairly paid off, as was the general practice of the commissioners. In keeping with Tudor respect for property and the vested interest, the arrangements made for the corrodians were considerably better than those made for the nuns. One, a widow, Alice Birrey, was given £3. 8s. 4d. in commutation of her corrody. The other, Thomas Parkinson, the nuns' chaplain, who had been receiving from the priory board, lodging, clothes, white bread, ale, "the grazing of one horse in summertime, and hay, provender, litter and stableroom in wintertime . . . with shoes and nails to the said horse," was now awarded £2. 16s. 8d. yearly in commutation. The Augmentations Office was still paying this out to him in 1555, so he must have been young enough in 1536 to have added a benefice or other clerical salary to this source of income.²⁴

In the rush to grab monastic lands that began even before the first suppressions the 'founders' (descendants, that is, of the original founders) often led the way, writing to Cromwell or the king begging for the fields and woods with which their ancestors had long ago endowed the religious orders. This was not the case at Arden whose founder was by now that very remarkable young man, Sir Francis Bigod of Mulgrave and Settrington, government agent, rash idealist, and puritan intellectual born before his time. He had passed close to Arden in the summer of 1535 when he had been responsible for the arrest and execution, for resistance to the royal supremacy, of George Lazenby, a monk of Jervaulx, and had browbeaten into submission the Carthusians at Mountgrace who had inspired the simple Lazenby. By 1536 he had fallen out with Cromwell. In the autumn of that year he was involved in the Pilgrimage of Grace, and in June 1537 he was hanged, drawn and quartered for organising a subsidiary revolt of his own. He had wanted to reform rather than to dissolve the monasteries and had persistently meddled in the affairs of the more important religious houses with which he was connected.²⁵ There is no evidence that he ever visited Arden and, without his intervention, the priory was leased in 1536 to Thomas Welles, apparently an entrepreneur in monastic lands. In 1540 Arden was briefly granted to Thomas Culpeper, but then passed in the same year to Sir Arthur Darcy.²⁶ There is a touch of irony here. Darcy's father, Lord Darcy, had been the military and feudal (as Robert Aske was the moral) leader of the Pilgrimage of Grace. He had been executed, like Bigod, in June 1537, but just before his death Sir Arthur wrote to the king asking that, if his father were condemned, he might be allowed to exchange the monastic lands he had got hold of in the north for others in the south because he would never again "rejoice to abide here."²⁷ This filial sentiment does not seem to have lasted very long.

Arden did not remain in the Darcy family for more than one generation.

It was sold in 1574 by Sir Arthur's son to Ralph Tancred, and the Tancreds kept it for three and a quarter centuries, until 1900. Ralph must soon have made what was left of the priory buildings into his principal residence, possibly to get out of deep water in London: he was accused of treason in 1590, but the charge was dropped.²⁸ In Hawnby church there is a fine marble memorial tablet to him (he died in 1601) and another, decorated very touchingly with a clock-face, a rosebush, a baby in a cradle and a picture of the lady she never became, to his grand-daughter Ann who died in 1608 "in the second year of her infancy."

The Tancreds are heard of only once more in national history when "Tankerd of Arden", a wild young disappointed Cavalier, rampaged about Yorkshire with a few followers and was reckoned to have "threatened the peace and safety of the Commonwealth."²⁹ This was in 1659. The Restoration, the following year, must have delighted him, and also disposed of any danger he was in. He lived to a ripe old age, dying in 1711 (his monument, too, is in Hawnby church), and finished his days building the Queen Anne house, later much added to, now called Arden Hall. Inside the house there remains of the mediaeval priory only a wide stone chimneybreast. It is pleasant to imagine, though impossible to prove, that the vast old yews in the garden were planted by the nuns as a little ornamental hedge in the cloister garth.

The V.C.H.³⁰ says: "There was a water cornmill in Arden in the 16th century; it has long since fallen down." This is not in fact the case. The mill, a small stone building in good repair with nearly all its machinery intact, still exists, two hundred yards downstream from the Hall on the Thorodale beck. The cottage adjoining it was rebuilt and roofed in slate in the 19th century, and the sluices, mill race, pentrough, etc., were repaired and improved by William Megginson, miller, in 1846. But the mill itself is very much older and may even be the same building that the nuns handed over in 1536, though it is more likely to be a stone replacement, dating from the 17th century, for such a structure as the suppression commissioners found at Handale, a small nunnery near Whitby: "Item there is a little overshot mill going with a little water, daubed walls and covered with thatch."³¹ The machinery at Arden mill, which stopped working in about 1900, is considerably more primitive than that at, for instance, Rievaulx mill, and includes an interesting hearth for drying grain, a metal plate, with a fire below, upon which the corn was placed and kept in motion by a vertical paddle rotated by a pulley from the main shaft. This is thought to have been the earliest form of powered grain-dryer.³²

In comparison with Rievaulx and Byland, with their great men, their noble architecture, their enormous social and economic consequence for North Yorkshire, Arden priory's nameless nuns, vanished group of low

buildings, and almost untraceable effect on the locality seems insignificant enough. But this obscure version of mediaeval monastic life, the decades of uneventful poverty, the occasional minor drama, the office more or less conscientiously sung year in, year out, the prayers for the souls of Peter de Thirsk, Roger de Mowbray, a long list of others and Sir Francis Bigod's father killed at the battle of Flodden, the peasants' wives coming to pray to St. Bridget for murrain-stricken cattle, the haymaking and the puppies and the flour sifted through the alb - all this was typical of the life lived in small religious houses up and down the land, especially by women, and it too is part of English history. "Item an orchard where the dovecote standeth"³³: behind such a phrase from the Augmentations inventory of a doomed nunnery one can see not only the predatory meticulousness of the administrators in London, but the peaceful and sometimes holy pattern of existence that disappeared under their pens.

NOTES

1. Victoria County History (N.R.) II p. 34.
2. Ibid.
3. D. Knowles, The Heads of Religious Houses in England and Wales (1972) pp. 207-24.
4. V.C.H., loc.cit.
5. Victoria County History (Yorks) III p. 112.
6. Rievaulx Chartulary (Surtees Soc. LVIII) pp. 33-4.
7. V.C.H. Yorks III p. 113.
8. D. Knowles, The Religious Orders in England I (1948) Ch. IX for an account of the York visitations.
9. V.C.H. Yorks, loc.cit.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., p. 114.
12. Ibid., p. 114-5.
13. e.g. the case of Newburgh priory, Knowles R.O. I p. 93.
14. V.C.H. Yorks III p. 115.
15. Yorks. Arch. Soc. Record Series XVII p. 2.
16. V.C.H. Yorks loc.cit.

17. Detailed work on the surviving dissolution records of Yorkshire nunneries has been done by G.W.O. Woodward in an unpublished Ph.D. thesis: The Benedictines and Cistercians in Yorkshire in the 16th Century (Trinity College, Dublin, 1955). Some of his conclusions are given in his Dissolution of the Monasteries (1966) pp. 73-87. His evidence is used by Knowles in The Religious Orders in England III (1959) Ch. XXIV. Arden is not mentioned by either.
18. Woodward op.cit., p. 79.
19. V.C.H. Yorks loc.cit.
20. D. Knowles, The Religious Orders in England II (1955) p. 277.
21. V.C.H. Yorks loc.cit.
22. e.g. those in Yorks. Arch. Soc. Record Series LXXX
23. Yorks. Arch. Soc. Record Series XVII p. 2.
24. V.C.H. Yorks loc.cit.
25. For Bigod see A. G. Dickens, Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York (1959) pp. 53-113.
26. V.C.H. N.R. II p. 34.
27. M.H. and R. Dodds, Pilgrimage of Grace (1915) II p. 195.
28. V.C.H. N.R. loc.cit.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid. p. 32.
31. Yorks. Arch. Journal IX p. 209.
32. A brief survey of Arden Mill has been carried out by the present writer: the details are lodged with the Editor.
33. Suppression papers of Wilberfoss. Yorks. Arch. Journal IX p. 206.

Life in Ryedale in the 14th Century (Part 1)

by J. H. Rushton

Editor's Note: Readers who recall previous articles by Mr. Rushton will surely welcome his return to our pages. However, as regards his present subject, his material has threatened to run away with him and it has proved quite impossible to compress the whole article within the confines of this number of the Historian. Part II will, therefore, be held over until the next issue, and will include a note on sources, as well as dealing with lords of the manor, gentry, and monasteries, among its chief headings.

Exploring Mediaeval Ryedale

As the 13th century gave way to the 14th, Ryedale was still divided into bounded townships, the arable, meadow and pasture land of which supported many compact villages, two small borough towns, monasteries with outlying grange farms and in the three higher dales scattered single farmsteads. Some of the smallest townships filled the central Ryedale basin. Some of the largest embraced thousands of acres of the high moors. Their populousness depended less on extent than on the quantity and quality of usable arable and good meadow. More than half the people lived in the springline villages below the slopes. The rest were divided, with perhaps a quarter in the vale, and the rest in the limestone crest villages and the few but surprisingly populous dales.

Large villages like Ampleforth, Appleton le Moors, Gilling, Hovingham, Kirkby Moorside, Old Malton, Nunnington, Slingsby and perhaps Oswaldkirk contrasted with many others a half or a quarter as populous. Yet they were by no means dwarfed by the small boroughs at Malton and Helmsley. As late as 1377 Malton would have only 354 adult taxpayers, of 14 and over, and perhaps half that number of households. Among the villages, Kirkby Moorside and Hovingham had shown signs of urban growth but though their village markets were successful they lacked borough privileges.

A tax levied on 'moveable goods', excluding certain lordly assets but including the working stock of farmers as well as household goods, which were few enough, was levied in 1301. Monastic institutions paid as well as people. In Ryedale, excluding the ecclesiastical liberties that ran into it, only 28 bodies paid over 15/-. Only 17 paid between 10 and 15/-. The rest formed a clear pyramid:

0-1/-	241.	3-4/-	77.	6-7/-	11.	9-10/-	6.	12-13/-	3
1-2/-	153.	4-5/-	49.	7-8/-	7.	10-11/-	10.	13-14/-	1
2-3/-	126.	5-6/-	29.	8-9/-	16.	11-12/-	2.	14-15/-	1
Over 15/-									28

Incomes are harder to assess since farmers and cottagers alike might get much, and some most, of their income from the land, without money transactions. For those cottagers who worked for others, in the 3rd decade of the 14th century, $1\frac{1}{2}$ d a day was paid for cocking or mowing hay, sheep washing and shearing, collecting bracken for thatch, carrying stones or hay, cutting ivy or lifting for a thatcher. A woman helper might get 1d. Heavier labouring brought 2d a day, the reward of bough cutters, and also of some responsible doorkeepers, watchmen and foresters. Breaking stone in a quarry brought $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. For food and wage a messenger had 3d a day. A clear 3d was paid to skilled men such as the carpenter, thatcher, mason, or those who rolled and repaired wool. Piece rates included 5d a perch for remaking a fence and 6d a perch for mending a stone wall.

Higher officials might receive no more in cash but could benefit in kind. A chief forester at $1\frac{1}{2}$ d made £2.5.7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d in the year. Yet Roger de Mowbray paid his Hovingham forester a quarter of wheat every ten weeks, gave him a robe of the livery of his esquires or 20s at Christmas, and allowed him all trees blown down with their branches and bark in 1297. In the changed conditions of 1385, Sir William de Ayton allowed his servant Henry of the Wardrobe to take on the supervision of Hutton Bushel wood. The payment was a valet's robe and 6/8 a year and a quarter of wheat every ten weeks. Castle chaplains received £2-3 but might dine in hall. Sir Baldwin Wake could assess his annual returns from his Kirkby Moorside interests alone at £154.4.1d. Sir Matthew Louvaine had £6.16.6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d from a Fryton manor with only 16/3 coming from the demesne and the rest from rental.

Cash croppers and craftsmen were dependent on prices of goods sold. In the early 1320's, a woolman on a large scale might get £6 or £7 for a sack of clean wool but it took many fleeces to fill the sack. Refuse wool was £4 the sack and 40 sheep carcasses would bring 5/3, 22 lamb-skins 2/7. The carcase of a dead mare could raise a shilling. Wethers and ewes were 1/8 each. The tax of a fifteenth levied in 1301 enables some calculation to be made of how little stock most people must have had.

The local corn-mix for bread, called maslin, was from 4/4 to 7/6 the quarter but oats were 2/6 to 3/0. Salt was 2/6 the quarter. Four stone of hemp brought 2/8 and a quarter of honey was 3d. Craftsmen's work might bring the smith 1d for a large nail or the same for nails, shoes and shoeing a horse. A day's keep for the horse was 4d. In 1326 a man was paid 9d for making 300 small nails. A robe cost 10/-, a towel 6d and 9 ells of striped cloth 6/-d. A horse's headstall and reins were 3d, and a pair of traces 5d. You could get a wood chest for 2/10, so there was little furniture. A stone of tallow was 1/5, a gallon of sulphur 4d, a horsecomb 3d and a nine-gallon bucket 5d.

At Sproxton, where Robert de Sproxton in 1299 had the watermill yielding him 26/8, his demesne of 11½ oxgangs, each of 9 acres as measured by the 18 ft. perch, rated 5s each in the year. His 16 acres of meadow brought 2s the acre. His 14 free tenants held either one or two oxgangs or a few acres each with a house plot, paying rents under a shilling in all but four cases. His 14 cottagers with no oxgang land and merely a house-plot, croft, and sometimes an acre, paid sums from 1/8 to 4/1½ and also contributed 24 hens and 240 eggs to the manor lord and were obliged to use his mill and bakehouse. In the tax record of 1301 only 11 people, including at least two of the lord's family, appear at all. The rest were too poor.

Among the Church Prebendary's incomes from Ampleforth were more Christmas hens and Easter eggs. Each oxgang holder mowed the lord's meadow, found a man to hoe his corn for one meal a day and found 5 reapers in Autumn for the same. Four oxgangs joined together to make one plough for the lord twice a year, the two ploughmen getting one meal a day. Similarly the oxgang holders had to provide services of harrowing, carting wood for fuel, haymaking, haycarting to York, taking tithes to the barn, shearing his sheep, moving his timber and collecting his reeds for thatch. They went to get his provisions at York, Helmsley, Kirkby Moorside and Thirsk at the lord's expense. They gave him a Christmas pig. At Martin Mass strikes of nuts were paid, and money whenever young bullocks or pigs were sold. The cottagers had lighter services but heavier rents. At Kirkby Moorside bondsmen and cottagers paid Michaelmas tax, gave their tenth pig, paid 'gersumes' and gave 'merchet' for their daughters.

Villein farmers lived by such customs. As late as 1410 a villein moving into Farndale was obliged to return to his place of origin by its manor court. Freeholders could move, and a lively land market had developed in their properties. Many were of that broad class, often of knightly descent from which the knights were drawn. Many a minor manor lord never saw knighthood, while some freeholders already had taxable wealth comparable with those who did. All lived on a grain diet, with ale as their drink. Peas and beans made puddings and pigs were widely kept. Hens and geese occur and nuts were valued. Meat was scarce, though more was eaten as time passed, but fish was relatively cheap. The problem was to survive the winter and the all too frequent pestilences.

The culture of the records was that of church and knight with only scant trace of more popular pleasures and belief. Ryton had its harper. A Byland monk would jot down Ampleforth ghost stories. Robert, a monk from Old Malton, was writing down the first contributions to literature in the 'lewd tongue'. Richard Rolle, patronised by John Dalton of Malton and Kirkby Misperton, wrote advices for a nun and criticism of worldliness in the church. Even some manor lords, like the de Ryedales, Hasbtons and

Brawbys, the Kirkbys and the Bulmers, looked back to pre-Conquest ancestors but almost all had adopted the Norman and Breton names of William, John, Richard, Walter and the rest. The days had gone when William de Vescy of Malton could address charters to his homagers, "French and English" but except for the freeholders, social divisions were still hard and fast.

The Rural Economy

Ryedale¹ was primarily a farming country. Arable fields ringed the lower slopes around the dale. Others formed blocks atop the northerly limestone, spanned Howardian valleys or nestled in a few of the deep dales of the moorland. Hay meadows lined low streams at Ryedale's heart, where the arable was in chunky clearances amidst broad carrs and moors. The vast higher moors formed open commons that merged with remaining valley-side woodland.

Common fields were more often described as single units than as the named fields familiar later. Strips were grouped in clusters, each with its name. Wandales at Barugh, Salton, and Cawton, Sucker flat at Gilling, Bent Butts at Lastingham, Hunger Hills at Kirkby Misperton, are a few. Meadows bore names like Priest Ing at old Malton, Gildhusdale below Welburn, Scampshon Ing at Scawton and Hall Ings, Gilling. Low Commons were extensive, filling land that would later seem promising north of Habton and Old Malton, where monks gathered turf and heather, and in great areas east of Harome and south-east of Keldholme.

Assarting had revived after disafforestation and added new 'thwaites' and 'riddings'. It continued into the late 13th century at Sinnington Manithornes for sowing with Spring Corn, and at Normanby where the Abbot of St. Mary's took in an 80-acre meadow. A 16-acre waste at Hovingham, then worth 4d a year, was assigned in 1294 to the Lord of nearby Wath. The greatest reclamations were in Farndale where the tenantry increased by moving into scattered farms instead of compact villages. In Bransdale Thackthwaite gained Cocken chapel to serve a smaller group of settlers. The largest new compact settlement was at Newbiggin just outside the borough of New Malton.

Monastic granges with outlying cotes, some specialised for wethers, ewes and hogs had taken isolated farmsteads to sheepfold sites. Hexham Priory's fold on Brawby Moor became a Grange. A few other isolated sites, like Acomb Crofts near Malton, Hamphwaite, Dowthwaite, Southet Houses and Cathwaite near Keldhome, Lundthorpe above Aymotherby, and Burtoft near Ampleforth, are unexplained. Earl Hugh Bigod planted new sheepfolds that became clearings above Kirkby

Moorside and pressure on common pastures became more intense. Intercommoning continued above Spaunton but had ceased on Bowforth Moor. In 1301 William, son of Hugh, complained that the Malton Prior and Richard Brett were overstocking commons at Aymotherby and Gilbert, son of Serlo de Newsham, made the same complaint.

Management of the arable flatts was in the hands of reeves at Hovingham, Slingsby, Coulton, Cawton, Gillamoore, Barton, Edstone, Muscoates, Thornton Risebrough and Appleton-le Street, usually drawn from the substantial villagers. Malton Priory had 30 oxen at Old Malton in King Henry II's time, and 3 ploughs there in c.1244. At Swinton, they had 7, Kirkby Misperton 2, Ryton 1, and Sinnington 2. The lord of Old Malton Manor in 1422 had 2 wains, 2 ploughs and 16 oxen. The Normanby Rector of c.1334 had 4 oxen, and the Lastingham Rector 6 oxen and two cows worth £1 in 1310-11. Among 33 tenants of St. Mary's Abbey about Spaunton, Robert of Dowthwaite had 10 oxen, 4 cows and 3 stirks, and John of Spaunton 5 oxen, but the rest had teams of four or less. The Farndale men working scattered holdings tended to have more beasts, but rarely a full eight. Men combined to make up teams for the heavier land.

Despite regional differences from high dales to waterless upper limestone and ill-drained lowland, improved by dykes, specialised farming is hard to detect outside monastic granges. These could show an arable or pastoral bent and monks moved sheep between townships to use winter and summer pastures. Shepherds appear at Hovingham, Cawthorn, Ryton, Nunnington, Appleton, South Holme and Farndale, a cowherd at Oswaldkirk, and a wetherherd at Carlton and Helmsley. Pinders to gather strays were at Hovingham and Gillamoore. The higher dales which might have shown a sheep emphasis were ample in cattle and productive of corn. Mowers are recorded at Slingsby and Swinton.

Yet subsistence farming was being supplemented by cash crops, notably wool and hides. Some lordly demesnes and rectory tithes brought large quantities of other crops to market. Returns from the villein farmer's two oxgangs were more limited depending on its quality and the yield of associated pasture and meadow rights. A murrain or bad harvest could bring poverty. Wool had long been exported as well as supplied to Malton's weavers. Foreign demand was still intense and the home cloth trade growing. Monasteries and merchants acted as middlemen and incidentally as financiers. The Italian merchant Pergalotti could expect, of the 593 woolsacks from Yorkshire, that 60 might come from Rievaulx, 45 from Malton, 35 from Byland, 30 from Kirkham, 13 from Newbrough, 10 from Arden, and at least 12 from Keldholme, among the monasteries.

Wool had long been taken out through York, Scarborough and even Hull. York was made a staple town for lead, wool and leather in 1352.

Brabant weavers had come to the city in 1336 and there was a fellowship of mercers and merchant adventurers. Beverley, Hull and York merchants gathered wool in 1361-4. Local trading was on some scale. Malton Priory Canons had made £5224 from wool sales in 14 years and in one year, 1251, netted a gross profit of £460.16.8d. Complaint was made in 1327 that Malton merchants joined with those of other towns to raise the buying prices for wool. In 1335, Prior William owed Thomas de Helm of Beverley 127 sacks and 4 stones. William Tirwhit of Beverley would collect widely in the district in 1361 and in that decade Henry de Scalby, Richard Hare and William de la Moor of Malton contracted for large parts of the Whitby Abbey supplies.

Luxury imports were few, though York and Beverley vintners sold wine at Malton, and an Edmund the Taverner witnessed a charter there in 1387-8. Pepper and cummin rents appear frequently and a Spicer lived at Harome, the only others known being at Whitby and York. Peter de Lincoln brought wine and armour for Whitby in 1326 and William de Harum had a cargo of Hamburg ale, linen cloths and wainscots at Scarborough in 1405. Rare items might reach the inland districts through fairs and markets but York, with its many specialised trades, was the rich man's shopping centre. Specialisation there was advanced in the metal, food, wood, stone, skin, pot, transport and service trades. There were armourers, cutlers, wire, nail and lockmakers, pewterers and hatters. Saddles, bridles, gloves and pouches came from their workshops.

Salt was a necessary import. Rievaulx, Byland, Ellerton and Rosedale monasteries had interests at Teesside saltings. Malton Priory since 1224 enjoyed the right to 60 quarterns each year from Fulstow in Lincolnshire. Saltersgate was already so-called and another salt road reached the dales from Coatham. In 1301 Nicholas the Salter lived at Ampleforth-Oswaldkirk and there was another at Pickering. Seafish was the largest import. Compared with meat it was cheap and it gained encouragement from Wednesday and Friday meat fasting and the customs of Lent. Malton priory had its own kippering house at Scarborough, and a single house there paid rent of 500 herrings. Byland had sea-fishing interests at Coatham. Lay traffic may have centred on the Malton Fish Cross, where they came salted, white or dried.

Inland fisheries were in lordly and monastic hands. The River Derwent was protected for salmon from September to November, and for young salmon earlier in the year in 1285. River traps were used to restock millpools and fishponds for breeding. Lord Greystoke let his 'fishgarth' at New Malton to Richard Fisher, c. 1339, for 6/8 a year. Monastic fishponds left extensive earthworks at the Doodales, Malton and Howe - not far away was a community of fishers. Rievaulx monks fished Derwent, Costa and Rye. Local piscatores in 1301 were those at New Malton, Wykeham and Howe, two at Thornton Riseborough and two in the Spaunton estates of St. Mary's Abbey. Kirkham Priory had tithe

fish at Helmsley from Rye Bridge eastwards throughout Lord Roos's demesnes. Nunnington Manor had the fisheries of Rye and Riccall and Hexham Priory enjoyed the Salton waters.

Countryside specialisation was little developed but milling and the extractive industries were necessarily rural. Manorial and monastic corn mills enjoyed local monopoly rights of suit and soke and took payment in 'multure'. They were a main source of income and often used as security for loans. Millers too could prosper and Simon, the Farndale miller of 1301, could pay as much tax as a manor lord. Knights could put younger sons to milling.

Mediaeval Ryedale Corn Mills

River Dove	- Kirkby Moorside; Edstone; Salton, High and Low; Gillamoor; Farndale; Hold Cauldron.
River Seven	- Gt. Barugh; Sinnington; Appleton; Marton; Thornton Riseborough.
Hodge Beck	- Hoveton (on branch); Fadmoor; Bransdale.
Riccall	- Riccal; Harome; Pockley.
Rye	- Habton; Swinton; Newsham; Nunnington; Helmsley; Sproxton; Rievaulx; Scawton (on branch).
Holbeck	- Ampleforth; Gilling; Stonegrave.
Marrs Beck	- Coulton; Hovingham.
Wath Beck	- Wath; Slingsby; Fryton.
Derwent	- Malton; Old Malton.
Costa	- Kirkby Misperton.
Seph	- Bilsdale (several).
V. inc. nills	- Slingsby; New Malton (by 1301); Appleton le Moors (by 1266).

Iron was extracted in moorland dales, smiths moving their bloomeries up the outcrops near water and wood. Rievaulx had early Bilsdale workings and charcoal burners in Riccall Wood. The de Vere's at Raisdale and the Wake's forbears in Rosedale had minerals. Iron slag from the four main dales, sometimes recalled in cinder hills, bears witness to old working. More was found at New Lathes and Rievaulx. William the Smith and William the charcoal burner were probably extracting at Pockley in 1301. Robert the Iron-Smith in Farndale was probably an extractor in 1310-11. Then in 1339, John son of Richard had a St.

Mary's Abbey licence to burn ore, and to pasture seven horses, delivering 16 stone of iron a week to the St. Mary's steward at Spaunton. Working smiths were at Slingsby, Pockley, Stonegrave, Appleton, Wombleton, Old Malton, Ryton, Ness, Harome and Helmsley, as well as in monastic centres.

Small local quarries were opened when building was in prospect but stone structures were few. Rubble needed much lime mortar and early kilns are reported at Keldholme and Old Malton, though that at Keldholme could have supplied the tannery. Rievaulx drew on Rye and Bilsdale quarries near the house and Byland was a user of Wath quarry. Old Malton Priory had a quarry near Braystall Gate but tradition claims that both Malton and Kirkham drew on the famed Hildenley Quarry believed to have been used since Roman times. Appleton quarry supplied Newsham Mill in 1327. Masons and carters were at nearby Amotherby. New Malton by the 15th century had quarries at each end of the town, perhaps drawn on for its wall. But Michael the Mason was prospering at the borough in 1301. Other masons were at Appleton-Easthorpe, Coulton-Cawton and in Byland Liberty. Millstones came from Cropton Moor. Pickering had specialised cutters and dressers.

A considerable hide and skin trade centred on York but rural tanners were at Oswaldkirk-Ampleforth, Helmsley, Rievaulx, Bilsdale and Keldholme. Tanners enrolling as York freemen in King Edward II's time included Richard of Rievaulx, Hugh of Oswaldkirk and Robert of Ampleforth. Leather was used to make clothes, pitchers, gloves and saddlery. A lorimer made bridles at Helmsley and shoe-making was an early rural craft.

Cloth-making had begun at Malton in the 12th century. Weavers in 1301 were Gilbert at Malton, rather well off, and Henry at Slingsby, rather less so. Malton had the district's three dyers, all of some substance. Fulling cloth was done at that town and at Helmsley and Harome. Fuller John of Lastingham is mentioned a little later and there was fulling in Farndale by 1354. A scattering of tailors worked around the dale, including Cawton and Nunnington. Outstanding figures were Adam the Mercer of Malton who paid 9/0 $\frac{3}{4}$ in the 1301 tax and William the Mercer at Lonely Riccall who paid 4/10.

The oakwoods of the limestone valleys supplied house and plough timbers but were becoming confined. John Dalton used 6 oaks for his Kirkby Misperton Manor House in c.1324. Kirkby Moorside's Westwood was still large but was commoned by freemen, bondmen and cottagers while Kirkby Park had only a few oaks left. Thorkil Wood at Slingsby was down to 14 acres. Brymblecliff at Sinnington was being steadily wasted and yet here and there in the lower vale patches of timber survived, like Riseborough and Frensholme near Salton. Woodland crafts were active where the woods were thickest, at Slingsby, Stone-

grave and Coulton, where there were foresters, and along the limestone. Carpenters were active at Cawton, Scawton, Swinton, New and Old Malton, at Bradfeld in Upper Bilsdale and all along the north side of Ryedale.

Saleable produce was brought to market notably at the Boroughs but these had been joined in the late 13th century by four village markets linked each with important estates and churches:

		<u>Lord</u>	<u>Market Day</u>	<u>3-day Fair</u>
Barton le Street	1245-6	Richard de Grey	Wednesday	St. Laurence
Hovingham	1252	Roger de Mowbray	Thursday	Assumption BVM
Kirkby Moorside	1254	Hugh Bigod & Joan	Wednesday	Nativity BVM
Stonegrave	1257	Simon de Stonegrave	Monday	Holy Trinity

Barton and Stonegrave disappeared without further trace, but Kirkby Moorside market could yield 40/- a year to its lord.

Transport

One basic pattern of communications was internal to each township. Green paths ran from compact villages to flats of arable, meadows, woods, commons, mills, watering places and other usable assets. These common ways were often called 'gates' after their users or destinations. Examples are Nalesgate and Hengandegate (Cawton), Pottergate (Gilling), Westgate & Kirkgate (Old Malton), Castlegate, Stonygate, Southgate, Dolegate, Westgate (Kirkby Moorside), Scoddegate (Barton), Yapgate (Fryton), Fragate, Walkarlgate (Welburn), Meregate (Howkeld), Linegate, Davygate, Halgate (Spaunton), Holegate (Appleton le Moors), Greengate (Sproxtun), Staynesgrifgate (south of Hovingham) and Thuergate (Hutton). Helmsley had its Bondgate, Boroughgate and Castlegate, Malton its Greengate, York-house-gate, Old Maltongate, Castlegate, Marketgate, Spitalmangate and Appletongate within the borough and Braytallgate running away westwards.

Longer-distance routes were superimposed on the local system within the cultivated area but in the commons followed more natural routes, and even shortcut through fields when crops had been lifted. Many sloping hill paths were called 'sties', like Holthorpesti at Hovingham or Hasty in Bilsdale and the great Thurkilsti that ran from Welburn to Cleveland. Parishes had routes for tithe movement to a mother church. An older system was enshrined in the 'streets' which gave western and lower Ryedale a through route, used among others by raiding Scots. The Malton Street at Hovingham met the 'Street' on which Appleton in the Street stood, so called in the 14th century, and linked with the branch from the High Street coming off Caulkleys Bank which further north-west ran into Hambleton Street. The Braygate Street which left the Malton Street

near Yearsley crossed the Howardian Hills to rejoin it at Malton. The King's Street crossed it on a northerly route from Easthorpe to Newsham, Barugh and Riseborough, better known in its reaches towards Whitby as Wade's Causeway.

Some 'great ways', and 'king's highways' linking market towns were less direct. The King's peace extended along the latter, required to be of serviceable width for wagons to pass and, since 1285, with the undergrowth cut back 200 ft. on each side. Among them, not always on their modern course, were the Pickering-Kirkby-Helmsley, Helmsley-Marton-York, York-Kirkby Moorside (the Stanegrave way); Helmsley-Stonegrave Carr-Hovingham, the road through Trowbridge, and the road Pickering-Howe Bridge-Malton. The High Ings causeway, raised up at Appleton le Moors, is unusual, but in the low ground raised causeways were the Middle Causeway at Malton, the causeway on Normanby-Marton Common, the Great Barugh and Habton causeway to York (Wade's Causeway). The high moors had a great way from Loose Howe to Shunner Howe, now extinct, and the low road from Edstone to Kirkby Mills is now a mere footpath.

Rigg routes rather than valleys provided ways whereby packhorses could avoid the soft ground. The Gilling gap lacked a major route. Long-distance routes focussed on fords called waths. Examples are Hallwath, upper and lower Blawath above Farndale, Yatstainwath and Gildhuswath south of Welburn. Conversion of waths to bridges came early at Howe, or Friar, Bridge, a Rievaulx Abbey responsibility on the Pickering-Malton Road (12th Century), and at Newsham (13th Century), at Malton, where 'pontage' was charged, at Helmsley (13th Century), at Holmegarth, Scawton (12th Century), at Crossow Bridge over the Dove near Salton (by the 15th Century) and probably at such places as Trowbridge, Normanby, Kirkby Misperton, Nunnington, Sinnington, Aplawe, Riccall, Barugh, Lastingham, Malton, and Tilehouse, before their first mention in Jacobean times.

Stock-droving to high and low pasture or to market, monastic movement between pastures, granges and monastery, tithe collection and lordly movement between estates were all inter-township movements. The monasteries notably changed routes as did the founding of New Malton borough. Patrick of Ryedale gave Rievaulx Abbey a right of way over Habton Moor that became a road linking their properties. The monks widened the road at Crosswath for carts and acquired a carriage way through Harum to Gosling Ing. St. Mary's Abbey had a right of way from Appleton le Moors through a ford north of Sinnington and down through that village, for wains and packhorses.

The only known 14th Century hostels were at Newsham Bridge and at Dale near the Hambleton Street. Hospitals to serve lepers or the itinerant poor were at Spittle Hill, Broughton St. Mary Magdalen,

Spittlemangate, Malton, and St. Nicholas, Derwent Island, near Malton Bridge, on the three borough approach roads. Spittle Garths occur later at Gilling, Hovingham, Ganthorpe, Terrington, and Old Malton. Farriers were at Cawton, Aymotherby and Malton, which also had the only known chapman. Carters were at Malton, Swinton, Ampleforth, Coneysthorpe and Appleton apart from those of the monasteries.

Carrying service was owed by some tenants. Hexham Priory's Salton men carried the Prior's provisions whenever he was in Yorkshire and carted timber for his house, guest hall and mill. An early St. Mary's tenant at Gilling had to find a cart every autumn with a man and oxen, for the parson of Gilling to carry his grain, and had to lead his own tithe to the barn. Toll charges could alter movement and some places on Malton's approach roads have fields called Toller Garths. Monastic houses had early won exemption from such payments.

Shipments through Ryedale included the annual 2,000 herring sent from Whitby via Thornton Dale to York as tithe, the tithe venison that went from Pickering Forest to the Abbot of St. Mary's and the thrave corn from Pickering Lythe to St. Leonard's Hospital in the city. Scarborough fish went through for Fountains Abbey. In 1251 150 hinds and 100 boards and sows passed from Pickering to York for the King's Christmas and King Edward sent two valets for 50 bucks and 12 hinds in 1322.

Travellers included the Archbishops on circuit, Forest Justices, Sheriffs and the Prior of Hexham on the palfrey that his Salton men bought him. Indulgence days at Old Malton attracted crowds and as pilgrimages became popular some went to shrines at Beverley, Whitby, and York. Perhaps some called to see the fragment of the Holy Cross and St. Stephen's finger at Keldholme. Many a monarch was at Malton. King Edward II visited Laskill Woolhouse in August 1323, coming from Ingleby Greenhowe, and paid a running footman who brought him letters 6/8. Henry, Earl of Lancaster, stayed at Kirkby Moorside in 1336 and King Edward III at Helmsley in 1334. From Whitby Robert Mustard rode to spend two nights at Malton in the late 14th Century. His charge for 2 nights was one shilling.

(To be continued).

A Role for the Local Archaeological Society in Non-Excavational Field work

by D. Smith

The object of these notes is to emphasise the important role played by a local archaeological society, such as ours, in systematically recording finds and wardening scheduled monuments and listed buildings within its area. The results of recent intensive studies of particular areas, especially motorway routes, demonstrate the need for systematic recording, the urgency of which stems from the desirability of incorporating archaeological information in the formative stages of local development plans. It is, perhaps, true to say that a local society's primary function is in this sphere of non-excavational fieldwork.

During the past year, at the instigation of the Secretary, the Helmsley Archaeological Society has established a network of District Representatives. Their brief is "to achieve systematic recording of 'finds' (anything from worked flints to building foundations, old estate plans, inscriptions) and information relevant to local history and archaeology; and to give early warning of possible damage to scheduled monuments and listed buildings". In order to perform the latter task each representative has been provided with a list of protected monuments and buildings within his or her district, which should be inspected periodically. It is essential that they should establish good diplomatic relations in their areas with anybody liable to have special knowledge or information, e.g. farmers, landowners, gamekeepers, foresters, builders, house-agents, police, publicans, and district council, gas and electricity employees. Most farmers and landowners are found to be thoroughly co-operative, but occasionally some mistrust of our intentions is expressed, when it should be emphasised that any information received is unlikely to lead to massive excavations or compulsory purchase, as our role is purely a recording one.

Ideally recording work should be based on Ordnance Survey plans to the scale of 6 inches to the mile, although for fieldwork the folded $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches to the mile maps are more convenient and still allow for 6 or 8 figure National Grid References to be deduced accurately. When a find is reported the recorder should visit the finder and the site to obtain the following information:-

- i) a description of the find
- ii) the exact find-spot with a 6 or 8 figure National Grid Reference if possible

- iii) the circumstances of the find (e g. ditching, ploughing, etc.)
- iv) the name(s) and address(es) of the finder and owner of the property.

On receiving this information from the recorder the society's Finds Secretary will pass it on as appropriate to the Yorkshire Archaeological Society and/or the Scarborough Archaeological and Historical Society for inclusion in their annual 'gazetteer of finds', and possibly to the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, the Department of the Environment and the Archaeology Division of the Ordnance Survey.

The fact that one member covers a particular area should not preclude individual fieldwork by other members within that area. Indeed, one of the chief attractions of non-excavational fieldwork is that different parts of the same general area are visited from time to time, thereby preventing staleness and enabling a knowledge of the region as a whole to be developed. It is imperative that fieldwork should be done throughout the year in order to investigate the same sites under varying conditions.

There is still plenty of room for more volunteers to take over a sector of the Ryedale district. Even if you feel you can only cover a small area, please come forward.

Fig.1

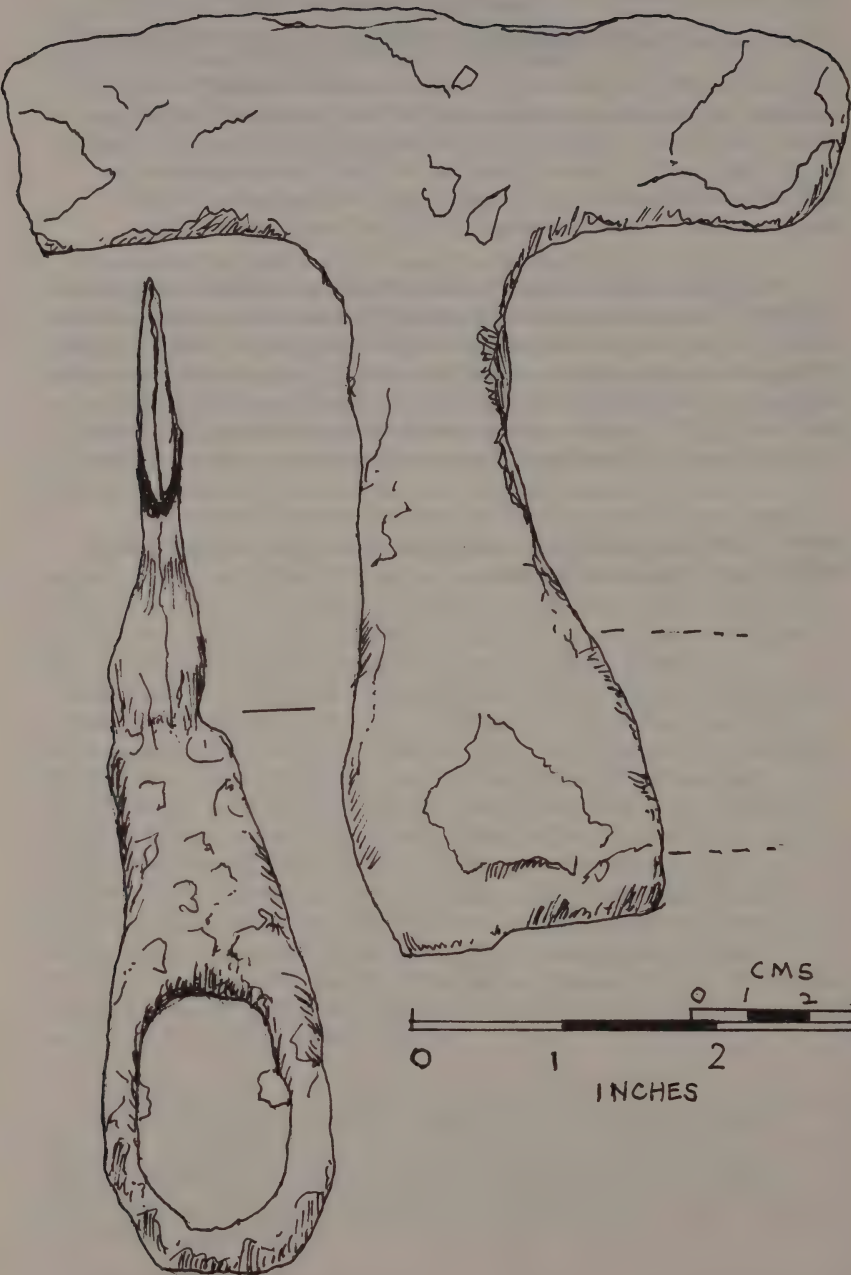


Fig. 1

Archaeological Notes (1)

FINDS

1. Iron Axe. (See Fig. 1.).

Found during draining operations near Little Holbeck, Gilling East, SE 601772. Condition fair - some corrosion. Dimensions: $6\frac{1}{4}$ " long; blade $5\frac{1}{2}$ " long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ " wide; shaft hole $1\frac{1}{2}$ " x 1".

This axe closely resembles that found with a hoard of Anglo-Saxon tools at Hurbeck, Co. Durham (now in British Museum). Cf. David Wilson, *The Anglo-Saxons*, Penguin Books 1966/71, pp. 76-78. Fig. 11, top right-hand, shows similar example. The Holbeck axe given to Trevor Robinson of Gilling East, and shown to RHH by J. W. Marwood, 1975.

2. Romano-British Jar. (See Fig. 2.).

While digging out a fishpond (see report in *Ryedale Historian* No. 7, 1974, p. 75) SE of Oldstead Hall (SE 533803), Mr. Peter Bradley unearthed the sherds of a coarse grey-ware jar, with very pimply mottled exterior and much grit in the fabric, but not the usual calcite gritted ware. It is undoubtedly a product of the Cold Cam kiln-site in Cockerdale Wood (see *History of Helmsley, Rievaulx and District*, ed. McDonnell, York, 1963, pp. 407-13, and Fig. 18, Type D). The jar is $8\frac{1}{2}$ " high (21.5 cm.), $5\frac{1}{4}$ " diam. rim (13.2 cm.), $6\frac{1}{2}$ " diam. at girth (16.4 cm.) and $3\frac{1}{2}$ " at base (11.3 cm.). The base has a slight foot-ring. Given to J. N. Grayson and later to the Ryedale Folk-Museum after restoration.

Mr. Bradley also brought up a thick rilled base of buff ware, $2\frac{1}{2}$ " diam., splayed out to $3\frac{1}{2}$ " at 3" height (rest missing). Probably medieval (spot of green glaze).

Both sherds were apparently within 3' of the old surface of the pond.

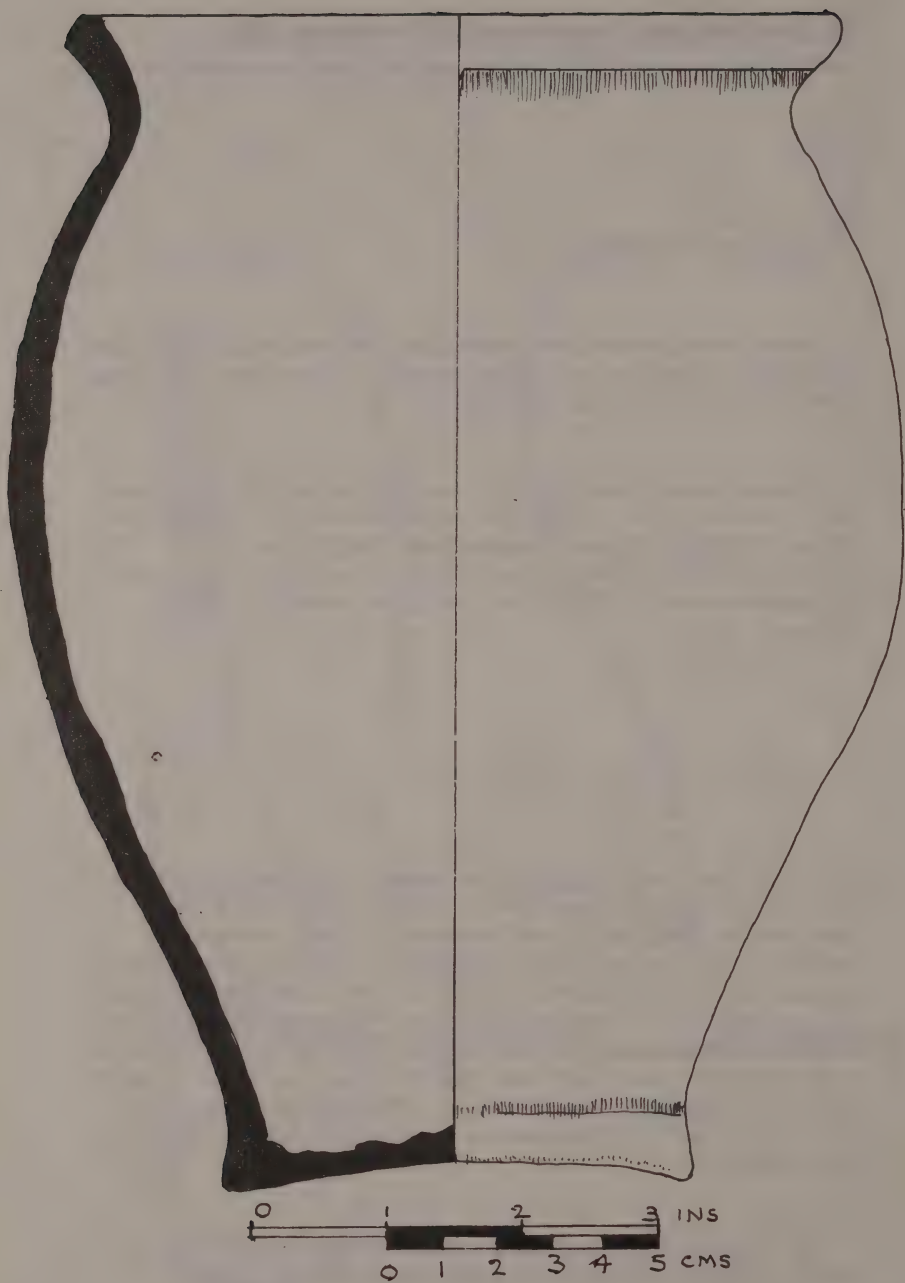


Fig. 2

Archaeological Notes (2)

INTERIM REPORT: MEDIEVAL EARTHWORKS AT GRANGE FARM, WEST NEWTON (SE 620800)

A chance visit to Messrs. Ward at Grange Farm, West Newton, nr. Oswaldkirk, in June 1975, to obtain permission to survey the remains of the Rievaulx grange and the 17th century Cholmley manor-house on their land, revealed that their bottom field (SE 620802) was about to be levelled preparatory to ditching and draining. Since no part of the site is apparently scheduled, no objection was raised, but permission was readily obtained to carry out a quick 'rescue' survey of the features to be levelled. The sketch-plan shows the relevant, southerly part of the plan recorded.

The bulldozing of the features in the upper (southern) part of the field turned up quantities of medieval sherds and tile (main concentrations as shown on sketch-plan) which were dated by Mr. R.H. Hayes to the 14-15th cents. The banks in the lower (northern) half of the field proved to be sand and gravel, with only one doubtful medieval sherd (on the surface before bulldozing and conceivably carried down from higher up). The banks and mounds further up the hill, however, were so largely composed of rubble stone - some of it large, with scores of blocks of over a cubic foot - that when the ditchers and drainers arrived to begin their part of the work, it had to be agreed that they should not operate in the upper half of the field at all, for fear of damage to their equipment.

Among the features which seemed worthy of further investigation was what seemed to be a water-channel about 5-8 metres wide, linked at either end to feeder-channels coming from, respectively, a gully collecting surface water from fields higher up the slope (A on plan), and a 'well' (B on plan), already crudely filled in, but into which Messrs. Ward recall a cow falling some 20 years ago, when it was about 3 metres deep. It is to be noted that this main channel, marked by banks on either side before the levelling work began, lies on the same contour as a still extant clay-pond to the east, and is situated at the lower limit of the limestone soils of the valley slope, just where these give way to the blue clay which extends across the valley bottom. The bank on the uphill side of the main channel contained the largest stones found anywhere in the field.

GRANGE FARM, WEST NEWTON

SE 620802

P: POTHERDS (MEDIEVAL)

T: TILE (DITTO)

LINE OF
RUBBLE BANK

TRENCH 1

TRENCH 2

LARGE STONES

DIRECTION OF
SLOPE & DRAINAGE

FILLED-IN
"WELL"
(B)

"STONY"
FOUNDATION

(A)

EXTANT
CLAY-
POND

LANE

0 10 20 30 METRES

Trial trenches were dug in September 1975 by a party from Ampleforth College, directed by the writer. A cross-section of the main channel (Trench 2 on plan) revealed no stone-work under what had been the bank on the downhill side, but on the southern, or uphill side, a 1-metre-wide course of mostly large stone (unworked and with no evidence of mortar) below the course already disturbed by the bulldozer. This lower course appeared to rest on no more solid foundation than small gravel which extended down some 20 cm. to the beginnings of the clay. The general appearance suggested nothing more than the crude revetting of the bank of a shallow channel, forming perhaps a walk-way along the edge.

The absence of a corresponding revetting on the downhill side of the channel was puzzling. There had certainly been a visible bank here before the bulldozer arrived, but no considerable stone had been turned up, and it is possible that the downhill bank may have been of the same, post-medieval, period as the banks lower down the field, and relating to the period of the manor-house rather than the monastic grange. In the approximate centre of the channel between the two visible banks a modern field-drain was uncovered some 80 cm. below the bulldozed level.

Meanwhile a second trench was dug at point C on plan, where the bulldozer had revealed what seemed to be a buttress or wall topped with flat flagstones (again unworked and resembling crazy paving). At the eastern end of this 3-metre stretch of flagging, an old channel, again marked by shallow banks, had branched off downhill to the NE, at an angle of some 45° to the main channel: this seemed to be in the nature of an overflow channel or leat.

The flags proved to be laid on rough rubble and gravel, again with no visible trace of mortar, and at the point of origin of the overflow channel there were no clear indications of any sort of sluice. After a 1-metre gap (with some gravel in it, possibly washed down) a cruder and less complete flagging resumed for 1 metre, and then gave way to mere mounded rubble, with enough traces of clay above the natural subsoil to suggest the sort of dam-bank which occurs in some of the Byland Abbey fishponds. The line of this banking appeared, from probing, to continue roughly parallel with the revetment on the uphill side of the main channel, and some 20 metres from it. There may have been more flagging originally on this stretch of the crude banking, since the present level of the stone is low enough to have escaped the bulldozer, and was not visible in June.

It is possible, therefore, that the original, medieval channel was

in fact considerably wider than observation in June 1975 had suggested, and formed a storage pond, either for fish, or, more likely, for watering stock. The History of Helmsley, Rievaulx & District, p. 255, quotes a reference from the Rievaulx Chartulary, p. 292, to a shortage of water at the Abbey's West Newton grange, and the granting of permission by the lord of Sproxton to bring water to the grange from a spring on Sproxton ridge to the NW of the grange. This watercourse was interpreted in the History as being a diversion of White Beck to the south of Seamer Great Wood and so to within easy reach of the 'twin' farm of West Newton Grange (Burrell's, SE 630800). The structures at Grange Farm (Ward's) may mark a further exercise in water-conservation, and if so could merit further investigation, as a comparatively rare case of adequately preserved specimens of the rubble-and-clay banking typical of monastic water-catchment systems.

J. McDonnell

Reviews

"The Jews of Medieval York and the Massacre of March 1190" by R.B. Dobson, Reader in History at the University of York. Borthwick Paper No. 45, published by the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, 1974. 50 pages. Price: 55p.

Jews from France began to settle in England after the Norman Conquest, but, according to this excellent paper from Dr. Dobson, it was not till a century later that they formed an active community in York; and even then their money-lending transactions were controlled, until his death in 1186, by Aaron of Lincoln, a key figure in the finances of church and state. However, by Richard I's reign (1189-99), the York Jewry, containing perhaps 150 members, had ousted their Christian competitors and become the leading suppliers of credit to the religious houses and lesser nobility of Yorkshire. Such economic power - and it existed on a nationwide scale - was always precarious. The King may have provided the Jews with his special protection, but he in turn demanded enormous sums in taxation, and could transfer their debts to himself when they died. The Christians may have been glad to borrow Jewish capital, but they hated the race that supplied it. In the end it was royal extortion combined with Christian resentment which destroyed the English Jewry.

Dr. Dobson traces the rise of the York community with scholarship and lucidity, and then turns to the horrific episode of March 1190. He shows how anti-semitism had reached a crescendo at this time both in England and France as a result of three main factors: papal warnings about the spiritual dangers of contact with the Jews; propaganda for the Third Crusade, on which Richard I embarked shortly after his accession; and a general resentment at the increasing Jewish stranglehold on financial affairs in the later 12th century. The coronation of Richard in 1189 triggered violence against the London Jewry; and the York tragedy followed a series of riots in Kent, East Anglia and Lincoln in 1190. It appears that the instigators in York were a small group of medium-rank landowners who were heavily in debt and probably hoped to eliminate their creditors at one blow. Among them we find Richard Malebisse of Acaster Malbis and Copmanthorpe, the ringleader; William Percy of Bolton Percy and Carnaby; Alan Malekake; Marmaduke Darell; and Philip de Fauconberg. Dr. Dobson does not rule out the possibility that the massacre in which these men were involved may have formed part of a much wider political challenge by discontented northerners to the government of the Angevin Kings, who not only gave protection to the 'royal usurers' but also excluded many northern gentry from the pickings of royal patronage. A similar movement lay behind the Magna Carta crisis a generation later.

Whatever doubts may exist about the causes of the massacre, the event itself is fully documented in the chronicles of the period, and the

author's reconstruction provides the centrepiece of his paper. In early March 1190 an armed band looted the house of Benedict, a prominent York Jew recently dead, and killed his family. The following day almost the entire York community took refuge in the Castle (where Clifford's Tower now stands). Further riots broke out. Distrusting the custodian, the refugees decided to shut him out of the building, whereupon the sheriff of Yorkshire, conveniently at hand with a large force, promptly withdrew royal protection and prepared to eject them. This was interpreted by the mob as royal approval for a final solution to the Jewish question in York. After holding out successfully for some days, the Jews saw the significance of the siege-machines now being placed in position and chose mass suicide in preference to slaughter by Christians. It seems that, with Rabbi Yomtob's blessing, the menfolk then proceeded to cut the throats of their wives and children; after which they themselves were despatched by the Rabbi. He, last of all, took his own life as a vast fire, which they had started, consumed their bodies and possessions. Those who had not opted for suicide were granted clemency by the besiegers in return for the acceptance of Christian baptism, but this did not prevent their slaughter the following day. The leaders of the mob staged a fitting climax to this display of religious zeal by marching to the Minster and burning the Jewish bonds deposited there. The King's officials were quick to denounce the massacre, but since most of the culprits had fled, the only punishments imposed were confiscations of property and general fines on the citizens of York. The sheriff and constable were dismissed, but no one was put on trial. Royal control of Jewish finances was, however, tightened, and it was not many years before a new community was established in the city.

Dr. Dobson's story is a familiar one, but his critical handling of the sources is exemplary, and he throws new light on several areas. He demonstrates the error of previous historians in thinking that the York Jews never recovered their old financial supremacy in the North: on the contrary, by the early 13th century they had acquired the legal security of an organised 'commune' under special royal protection, and their money-lending activities flourished as never before. Involving as they did a large market in bonds and encumbered estates, Jewish transactions were an important instrument in shifting land from declining gentry to more prosperous ones, as well as to religious houses with an eye for a bargain purchase. The author also maintains that the York Jews did not live, as might be expected, in some residential ghetto, but in fact had their property scattered throughout the city, although he agrees there was some degree of Jewish concentration in Coney Street, in the area now dominated by Leak and Thorp's departmental store. Their houses do not survive today, but two streets, Jubbergate and Jewbury (the site of a Jewish cemetery) recall their presence.

Dr. Dobson's article is a model piece of local history, with the central episode, the massacre of 1190, clearly set in its context, both

provincial, national and international, and thus illustrating several aspects of life in the 12th and 13th centuries. We glimpse the exploitable force of religious hysteria and the royal manipulation of the talented minority it professed to protect; we see how the King's government was conducted in his absence abroad, and the forces that were building up against it; we notice the co-operation between Jewish and Christian clergy in the field of scholarship; we find evidence of the strength of medieval castles. There is only one criticism I would make of this paper. After giving a short profile of Richard Malebisse, the principal persecutor of the York Jews, Dr. Dobson tells us that his grievances were not unrepresentative of those of other members of the Yorkshire baronage, Percy, Fauconberg, etc. This interesting generalisation he does not, however, substantiate, although he does list other features the conspirators had in common and shows the close ties that existed between them. But perhaps it is unfair to ask for further biographical detail in a short study of this kind.

W. A. Davidson

M. Durey, The First Spasmodic Cholera Epidemic in York, 1832.
Borthwick Papers No. 46.

This paper on the Cholera epidemic in York in June to September 1832 induces speculation on how far social conditions, beliefs and prejudices contributed to the seriousness of the outbreak.

The detailed description of the arguments and prevarications, and quotations from the conflicting opinions of the time tempts one to blame the procrastination of the townsmen of York for the spread of contagion. However, it is salutary to read that the incidence and proportion of deaths were no worse than those occurring today in relatively primitive conditions. In fact the death rate at 1 in 137 of the population was less than that of Hull (1 in 110) and Goole (1 in 12), although it is not clear why this should be so in view of the filthy living conditions described in the paper. The epidemic was not restricted to those in poor districts, although intense therein, and it is interesting to note the change of attitude in quotations from the newspapers as the higher strata of society became affected. Through extensive quotation and commentary Mr. Durey delineates in 23 pages a very full picture of the development and decay of the epidemic with fascinating insight into the reactions of the townspeople of all levels.

The times were ripe for civil disturbances and fear exacerbated disquiet about the sociological intentions of the upper classes - indeed many thought that they would welcome the decimation of the poor.

From the survey it is clear that with ample warning as the disease moved across Europe, the benefits of setting up Health Boards in 1831 were thwarted by legal limitations which resulted in money and

endeavour, available for cleaning and improving foul drainage systems, recognised as probably associated with disease, being diverted to providing questionable palliatives such as blankets for the sick. Equally ironic in retrospect is the fact that the author cites three doctors of note who recommended saline water treatment, and successfully used it, but failed to persuade their colleagues throughout the country. Thus they had perceived, and proved to themselves at least, the efficacy of the main part of modern treatment to minimise dehydration.

The social and commercial pressures of the time favoured prolonged argument between contagionists and miasmists: the irony being that the former were right, but could not be proved so with the scientific knowledge of the time, whilst the latter were wrong yet their ideas would lead to beneficial cleansing of the low-lying dank areas and infected waterways.

The author's paper leads one from the period of fearful waiting through the developing crisis, citing innumerable details which throw great light on how people coped with a disastrous situation, and provides engrossing reading. Apart from the ebb and flow of remedies, theories of causation, and tides of opinion among those who knew little of the disease, the author includes many intriguing facts from the records and observations by doctors who studied the epidemiology at the time or soon thereafter. Many odd facts appear. For instance 104 men died as against 69 women, very few children died under 5 years of age, women mainly died at 20-45 whilst male fatalities peaked at 50-70. Men were affected earlier than women, but York differed from many areas in which female deaths started later but ultimately overtook and surpassed male deaths. The theory was that men were away from home more than women and thus infected earlier, whilst women drank more water and were thus finally more susceptible as the water supply became infected. Both seem doubtful premises as it is not clear why men still out and about declined in susceptibility, and with such a virulent disease it seems unlikely that infection was proportional to the amount of bacillus ingested. Contamination whilst nursing the sick seems more likely as the cause of increasing female cases. The incidence of cases, and deaths, during those summer months also shows peculiarity. Whereas an earlier epidemic in Eastern Europe only died away in a hard winter, the York epidemic died away rapidly after a month, although showing a small resurgence two months later - an effect observed elsewhere.

With such a wealth of facts and comments it would have been helpful if the author could have devised some suitable method of subdivision instead of a vaguely chronological narrative. Facts and comments which could have been collated are spread disconnectedly through the script - observably difficult when searching for phrases remembered. Perhaps the fairest comment on the paper is that one finds this difficulty because one is led to reread and check more than once as one follows the story.

J. Anderson Storrow,
D.Sc., M.Sc.Tech., Ph.D., C.Eng., F.I.Chem.E.

Recommended Reading

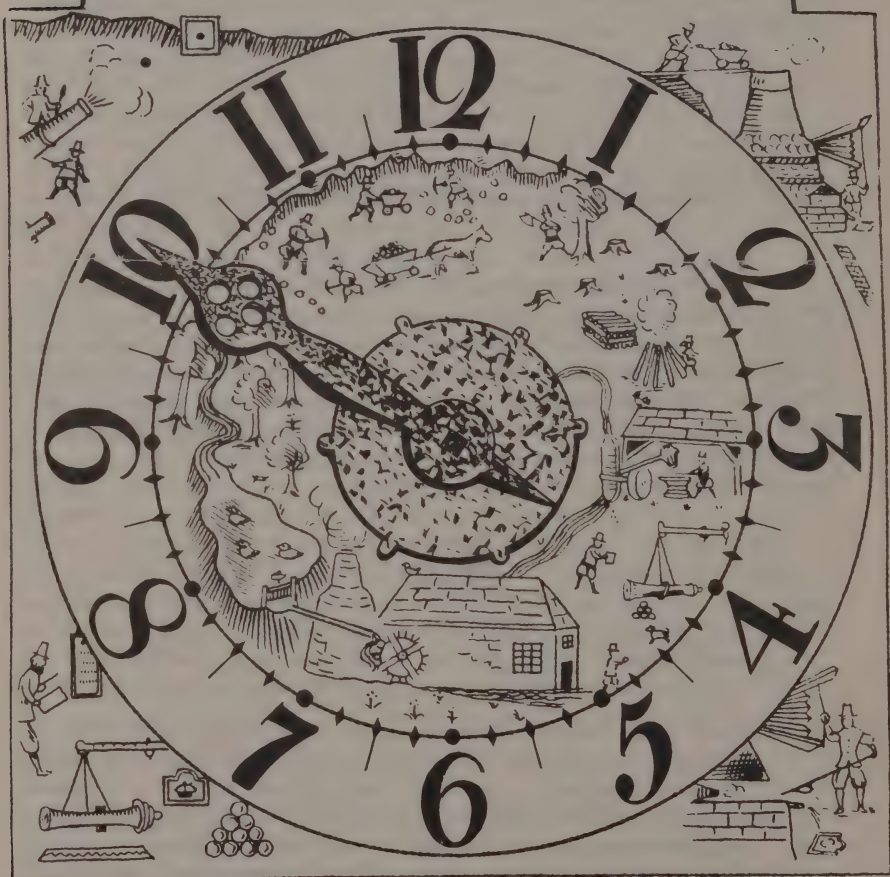
Rescue Archaeology, ed. P. A. Rahtz, Pelican Books, 1974, 90p.

Authoritative contributions from 20 eminent archaeologists, including Martin Biddle, Peter Fowler, J. K. St. Joseph and Peter Addyman (on York), underlining the horrific rate of destruction of archaeological sites in this country through motor-way development, urban renewal, forestry, quarrying, mining, etc., and showing how damage and loss of information can be minimised through co-ordination and prompt action. This is a field in which local groups and amateur archaeologists have an important role to play.

Circles and Standing Stones, E. Hadingham, Heinemann, 1977, £6.50.

A very able popular introduction to the current state of research on west European megalithic remains, from the avenues of Carnac in Brittany, via Stonehenge and Avebury to the Hebrides. Easy reading, plentifully illustrated (though the young author's publisher has rather let him down in the quality of reproduction of some of the photographs), with simple, coherent explanations of points like the complications of Carbon-14 dating, the diffusion theory, 'solar/lunar observatories', and the 'megalithic yard'.

BEECHING
Ashburnham



The Ashburnham Clock Face

The clock-face illustrated herewith, incorporating engravings of Wealden iron-founders at work, has been assumed to date from the 17th Century. Mr. J. Combridge, of the Sussex Archaeological Society, however, tells us that the clock itself dates from about 1820, and research is proceeding into the provenance of the engravings on the face. The iron-making scenes certainly help to illustrate some of the processes described in Ryedale Historian No. 6 (J. G. McDonnell, "Early Iron-Workings in Ryedale").

The preliminary stages in the iron-making process are shown inside the ring of figures, between 11 and 2 o'clock: ore is being mined and loaded into hand and horse-drawn barrows, while the equally vital charcoal is being burnt alongside. The rest of the space within the dial figures shows, at 8 o'clock, the mill-pond and sluice supplying an undershot water-wheel with power for the furnace-house (presumably for bellows) at 6 o'clock, beside a smelting oven at 7 o'clock. More water powers a trip-hammer at the forge, at 3 o'clock, while at 4 o'clock the finished product, a cannon barrel, is being weighed.

The four drawings outside the dial figures provide further detail of various processes. At top right a furnace-man with a barrow is, somewhat precariously, 'topping-up' the charge in the furnace, while another man works the hand-operated bellows. At bottom right the furnace is being tapped and the molten metal poured into a mould shaped like a fire-back. This casting, with an embossed crown, reappears at bottom left, where the cannon is again being weighed while the iron-master consults, apparently, a wall-chart of requirements. Finally, top left, the new gun is test-fired at a target.

The clock-face is reproduced in E. Straker, Wealden Iron (1931). See also A. Hayden, Chats on Cottage and Farmhouse Furniture (1912), and Plates II and III of Rhys Jenkins, "Rise and Fall of the Sussex Iron Industry", Proc. Newcomen Soc., I, 1920-21. We are most grateful to Mr. A. Robinson of Rievaulx for bringing this item to our attention, and to Mr. Combridge for his information.

Ryedale Folk Museum

Hutton-le-Hole, nr. Kirbymoorside, York. Tel.: Lastingham 367.

Opening Times (1976):

April-June: 2.00 p.m. - 6.00 p.m.

July-August: 11.00 a.m. - 6.00 p.m.

Sept.-October: 2.00 p.m. - 6.00 p.m.

(Note: if the weather is good and the demand apparent, the 11.00 a.m. opening time will be introduced earlier and end later in the year.

Special bookings for school parties in the mornings may be arranged through the Party Secretary).

Despite an increase in charges, the total of visitors in 1975 was again over 50,000, only slightly down on the previous year, and quite a lot of visitors told us that we were not charging enough!

The Museum won the Regional Award (Yorkshire and North Humber-side) of the Museum of the Year Awards. This brought some welcome publicity, and a cheque for £300, which together with a private donation, was ploughed straight back into improvements to the Museum.

Apart from the still extending range of exhibits, a new feature in 1975 was the Craft Days. On several Sundays during the peak of the summer, craftsmen and women demonstrated skills like weaving and lace-making. This proved a deservedly popular innovation, and will be repeated in subsequent years.

Malton Roman Museum

Opening Times (1976):

Summer Season - Spring Bank Holiday to 30th September
Monday-Saturday: 11.00 a.m. - 5.00 p.m.
Sunday: 2.00 p.m. - 5.00 p.m.

Winter Season - 1st October to Spring Bank Holiday
Monday-Saturday: 2.00 p.m. - 4.30 p.m.
Sunday: 2.00 p.m. - 5.00 p.m.

Admission Charges: Adults 10p. Children/Students 5p.
School Parties 3p per head, inclusive of teachers.

The Malton Museum contains collections of Roman archaeological material mainly from the fort site in Orchard Field, the civil settlement at Norton and the outlying villas such as that at Langton. In addition there are single finds and small groups of finds from other parts of the district.

The collections include a small amount of prehistoric items mainly from Monkman's nineteenth century collection and medieval material, such as pottery, from the Derwent Valley.

For many years the Malton Museum has been managed by a happy band of enthusiastic volunteers under the auspices of a Board of Management, which included members of the former Urban, Rural District and County Councils in the area and representatives of the owners and trustees of the collection.

The reorganisation of Local Government has necessitated the reconstitution of the Board of Management and as a result, the Museum has been placed on a more professional footing with administration being offered by the Ryedale District Council with technical advice from the North Yorkshire County Council via the Curator of the Yorkshire Museum, York, and his staff.

The Museum's initial problem, that is, lack of space to exhibit all the collection and insufficient room to catalogue and carry out preservation work, is likely to be partially solved shortly. With offers of financial help from the English Tourist Board and the District Council, a building known as the 'Dickens House' in Chancery Lane, very near to the present Museum, may be leased and renovated as a museum extension. The Ryedale District Council has agreed in principle eventually to house the museum in the Malton Town Hall when the new District Council offices are completed, and among the long term plans under discussion is a suggestion to move the museum to a permanent home in Orchard Field, site of the Roman Fort. This is a long way off yet and the idea will depend largely upon the role the Local Authorities are able to play in respect of the whole future of the Museum.

Undaunted by the current financial crisis, the enthusiastic Museum supporters have recently formed a Society of Friends of the Malton Museum who are keen to help further the progress of the Collection. If you are interested, please contact the Hon. Secretary, Mr. Leonard Roe, Brook Farm House, Town Street, Malton, North Yorkshire.

